

# CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Cleta Mitchell, Esq. Foley & Lardner LLP 3000 K Street, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20007

MAY 2 2018

RE: M

**MUR 5879** 

Harry Mitchell for Congress and John Bebbling, in his official capacity as treasurer; Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Jonathan S. Vogel, in his

official capacity as treasurer

Dear Ms. Mitchell:

This is in reference to the complaint you filed on behalf of J. D. Hayworth for Congress with the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") on November 6, 2006, concerning Harry Mitchell for Congress and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Based on that complaint, the Commission found that there was reason to believe the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and its treasurer ("the DCCC") violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434 (b) and 441a(a), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and instituted an investigation of this matter. The Factual and Legal Analysis explaining the Commission's reason to believe finding is enclosed.

On April 13, 2010, the Commission considered the matter, but was equally divided on whether to enter into conciliation with the DCCC. One or more Statements of Reasons explaining the Commission's decision will follow. On the same date, the Commission found that there is no reason to believe that Harry Mitchell for Congress and John Bebbling, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 434(b). Accordingly the Commission closed its file in this matter. The Factual and Legal Analysis explaining the Commission's decision with respect to the no reason to believe finding is enclosed.

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Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003).

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, allows a complainant to seek judicial review of the Commission's dismissal of this action. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(8).

If you have any questions, please contact me at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Ana Peña-Wallace

**Attorney** 

**Enclosures** 

Factual and Legal Analyses (2)

## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

### **FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS**

RESPONDENTS:

Democratic Congressional Campaign

**MUR: 5879** 

Committee and Brian L. Wolff, in his official

capacity as treasurer

#### I. INTRODUCTION

This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") by counsel for J.D. Hayworth for Congress, see 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).

Complainant alleges that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") made an excessive in-kind contribution to Harry Mitchell for Congress ("Mitchell Committee"), which was Harry Mitchell's 2006 principal campaign committee for the U.S. House of Representatives for Arizonn's Fifth Congressional District, in the amount of \$160,358.31 when it sired a television advertisement in support of, and featuring, federal candidate Herry Mitchell, and improperly reported the disbursament made in connection with the advertisement as an independent expenditure to the Commission. Complainant alleges that the DCCC's advertisement utilizes the same flootage of Mitchell that the Mitchell Committee used in one of its own advertisements.

Because it appears that the Mitchell Committee produced the original footage that was used in the DCCC advertisement, the Commission finds reason to believe that the DCCC violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b) and 441a(a) in connection with its republication of the video footage of the candidate.

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## II. FACTUAL SUMMARY

3 Arizona Congressional candidate Harry-Mitchell. Mitchell appears in at least three frames of the advertisement, which references an endorsement Mitchell received from The Arizona Republic. 5 The next day, on November 1, 2006, the Mitchell Committee aired a television advertisement that appears to include the same footage of Mitchell that the DCCC used in the advertisement 6 that aired 24 hours carlier, and also references the endomement of Mitchell by The Arizona 7 Republic. The overlapping content appears to consist of three screen shots that include identical shotage of Mitchell, but display slightly different text on the screen. See Complaint, Ex. 1 9 10 The complaint alleges that the DCCC disseminated a public communication that resulted 11 in the DCCC's making of an excessive contribution to the Mitchell committee. To support the 12 allegations, the complaint notes that the DCCC and the Mitchell Committee both used the same 13 video footage in two separate television advertisements that aired within 24 hours of each other 14 and that the candidate was featured prominently in several scenes in the advertisements. 15 Complaint at 2 and Ex. 1. A press report attached to the complaint indicates that a Mitchell Committee representative publicly acknowledged that "[the Mitchell Committee] shot the 16 footage some time ago and placed it on an internet server, making it available to anyone."2 17 Compleint, Ex. 2. 18

On October 31, 2006, the DCCC sired a television advertisement that included footness of

The complaint attached surses shots of three frames from the DCCC and Mitchell Committee advertisements. These current shots configuration each used the same video freeings fininging Huny Mitchell. Complaint, Hz. 1. The Mitchell comparis toloviries, advertisement is still available on its velocite, along with conflor advertisement utilizing small of the same floatage. See http://docs.com/Video.com/(inst visited August 15, 2007). However, the DCCC's television advertisement could not be incested through publishy evaluate sources.

<sup>2</sup> It is unclear whether this representative was substring to the sow thotage of the condidate used in both advertigements, or the receiving advertigement produced by the Mitchell Committee.

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1 In its response to the complaint, the DCCC refers to the possible "visual or themstic 2 similarity" of the advertisements, but fails to discuss any details of the footage, including the 3 source of the flotsee. The DCCC denies that the advertisement was coordinated with the Mitchell campaign and explains that the advertisement was produced through its independent 5 expenditure program, which worked behind a firewall that was intended to prevent "access to 6 information about candidate plans, projects, activities or needs." DCCC Response at 2. In an 7 affidavit attached to the DCCC response, the Chief Operating Officer of the DCCC explained that during the 2006 election cycle, the DCCC adopted written procedures that it called the 9 "wall" that were "designed to ensure that nonpublic information about a compaign's plans. 10 projects, activities or needs would not be conveyed to those involved in preparing and 11 distributing the DCCC's independent expenditures." Hebershaw Aff. 9.2. Those written 12 procedures were distributed to all staff and were also available for review by staff on the DCCC's 13 computer system. Id. ¶ 5. Under its firewall procedures, individuals assigned to the DCCC's 14 independent expenditure program were prohibited from heving contact with compaiens and agents of those compaiens "who would benefit from the independent expenditures" and from 15 16 discussing those compaigns with DCCC staff outside of the independent expenditure program. 17 M. 73. The DCCC's firewall procedures also limited access to the DCCC's general files and 18 required vendors to comply with the procedures as well. Id. ¶ 4. 19 Ш ANALYSE The Commission's regulations state that the republication of any broadcast or other form 20 of compalen materials prepared by the condidate's gatherized committee shall be considered a 21

contribution for the purposes of contribution limitations and reporting responsibilities of the

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1 person making the expenditure. 11 C.F.R. § 109.23. Commission regulations also set forth a

2 number of uses of campaign materials that do not constitute a contribution to the candidate, such

3 as the dissemination of campaign materials done using a committee's coordinated party

4 expanditure authority. 11 C.F.R. § 109.23(b). However, such dissemination must not exceed

the coordinated party expanditure limits of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as

amended ("the Act"). 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d).

Based on the Mitchell Committee's public admission that it created the original compaign footage the DCCC used in its advertisement and the similarity of the flotage used in both advertisements, it appears that the DCCC republished Mitchell's campaign materials, resulting in an in-kind contribution to the Mitchell Committee unless the DCCC used its coordinated party expanditure authority. 11 C.F.R. § 109.23. However, it does not appear that the DCCC used its coordinated party expanditure authority because it claims it created the advertisement independently. Given the cost of the advertisement (i.e., over \$196,000), the DCCC may have made an excessive in-kind contribution of approximately \$190,000. Even if the DCCC did use its coordinated party expanditure authority, it still would have made an excessive contribution because the applicable coordinated party expanditure limit on behalf of the Mitchell Committee was \$39,600. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(2)(A), 441a(d)(3)(B); Price Index Increases for

The compliant include the following: 1) the compaign material is disseminated, distributed, or republished by the conditate or the conditate's authorized committee who proposed that material; 2) the compaign material is incorporated into a communication that advecates the defect of the conditate that proposed that material; 3) the compaign material is disseminated, distributed, or republished in a zeros etery, communicy, or collected compated under 11 C.F.R. § 100,73 or 11 C.F.R. § 100,132; 4) the compaign material undependent of a brief quote of materials that demonstrate a conditate's position or part of a purpos's expension of its own view; or 5) a uniformly political party committee or a flute or subcollected political party committee page for such discontinuation of compaign materials using coordinated party expensions enthesity under 11 C.F.R. § 109.32.

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- 1 Coordinated Party Expenditure Limitations, 71 Fed. Reg. 14218 (March 21, 2006). 4 In
- 2 disseminating, distributing, or republishing Mitchell's campaign flootage, the DCCC made an
- 3 excessive in-kind contribution to the Mitchell Committee and failed to properly report the
- 4 communication as a contribution in its reports to the Commission. Therefore, the Commission
- 5 finds reason to believe that the DCCC violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a) and 2 U.S.C. § 434(b).

The Act requires the Commission to adjust the constituted party expanditure limits set facth in section 441a(d) entered to account for increases in the consumer price index. Political party occasioner have expense limits for each conditate. The applicable limits in either for House conditates in 2006 were entertained by multiplying the base figure of \$10,000, set first in rection 441a(d), by the price index (3.961), yielding a limit of \$30,000 that a political party committee could spend on the general election compaign of a fidural conditate for the House of Expressentatives. See 2 U.S.C. § 441a(d); Price Index Increases for Coordinated Party Expenditure Limitations, 71 Ped. Res., 14218 Orlands 21, 2006).

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION		
2	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS		
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4 5 6 7	RESPONDENTS:	Harry Mitchell for Congress and John Bebbling, in his official capacity as Treasurer	MUR: 5879
8 9		Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Jonathan S. Vogel,	
10 11		in his official capacity as treasurer	
12	I. INTRODUC	TION	
13	This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission		
14	("the Commission") by counsel for J.D. Hayworth for Congress, see 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1),		
15	alleging that the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ("DCCC") and Harry Mitchell		
16	for Congress ("Mitchell Committee") coordinated a DCCC television advertisement featuring		
17	Harry Mitchell that aired on October 31, 2006. The advertisement used video footage of		
18	Mitchell that was also used in a separate Mitchell Committee advertisement that aired twenty-		
19	four hours later, on November 1, 2006. Both advertisements addressed an Arizona Republic		
20	endorsement of Mitchell. The video footage at issue depicted Mitchell interacting with		
21	constituents, included shots of Mitchell directly facing the camera, and comprised approximately		
22	fifty percent (50%) of the DCCC's television advertisement. The DCCC reported the		
23	advertisement in question as an independent expenditure.		
24	In response to the complaint, both the DCCC and the Mitchell Committee denied that		
25	there was any coordination. As explained below, the Commission does not have sufficient		
26	information to establish that there was any coordination between the committees in connection		
27	with the DCCC advertisement. Therefore, the Commission finds no reason to believe that the		
28	Mitchell Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 434(b) and 441a(f).		

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# II. FACTUAL SUMMARY

2 On October 31, 2006, the DCCC aired a 30-second television advertisement that included 3 footage of Arizona Congressional candidate Harry Mitchell. Mitchell appears in half of the 4 DCCC's advertisement, which references an endorsement Mitchell received from The Arizona 5 Republic. The next day, on November 1, 2006, the Mitchell Committee aired a television 6 advertisement that included the same footage of Mitchell that the DCCC used in the 7 advertisement that aired 24 hours earlier, and also references the endorsement of Mitchell by The 8 Arizona Republic. The overlapping content appears to consist of identical footage of Mitchell, 9 but display slightly different text on the screen. 10 The complaint alleges that the Mitchell campaign was materially involved in the 11 production of the DCCC advertisement. To support the allegations, the complaint notes that the 12 DCCC and the Mitchell Committee both use the same video footage in two separate television 13 advertisements that aired within 24 hours of each other. Complaint at 2 and Ex. 1. The complaint also asserts that several scenes in the advertisements "were clearly produced in a 14 15 manner that would necessarily have required Harry Mitchell's material involvement" because he 16 was featured prominently in those scenes. Complaint at 2. 17 The Commission examined the production of the DCCC advertisement titled "Compare," including how the DCCC obtained the footage of Mitchell used in the advertisement. The 18 19 "Compare" ad was developed in response to the Arizona Republic's unprecedented endorsement 20 of Mitchell, published on October 27, 2006. There was an urgency to prepare an advertisement 21 to take advantage of the endorsement because it was only a few days before the election. The investigation revealed that the Mitchell Committee provided the DCCC with a copy of the raw 22 23 video footage used in "Compare" (which was filmed by the Mitchell Committee on September 6

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- and 8, 2006 at various locations in Arizona for use in its own campaign advertisements) without
- 2 charge, via the Mitchell Committee's media vendor, Adelstein Liston, on October 27, 2006, the
- 3 day the Arizona Republic endorsement was made public and ten days before the general
- 4 election. After obtaining the footage, the DCCC then sent the video footage to its media
- 5 vendor, McMahon Squier and Associates ("McMahon"), who was responsible for producing the
- 6 advertisement.<sup>2</sup> The cost of the "Compare" ad was approximately \$427,485.25 (\$5.923.43 for
- 7 the cost of production and \$421,561.82 for the media buy to air the advertisement).

Since 2003, the DCCC has maintained a library containing video footage, images, and other media from which to draw upon for various uses. The DCCC reportedly developed a practice of periodically requesting materials from Democratic members of Congress and Democratic candidates at the start of the election cycle, and of following up with a letter or phone calls if there is no response to the initial request. The DCCC typically ceased updating the media library after the final primary election was held. The DCCC explained that once the decision was made to prepare an advertisement utilizing the endorsement a written request for video footage of Mitchell from its library would have been completed. The DCCC could not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Mitchell Committee's media vendor sent packages to the DCCC on September 22, 2006 and October 27, 2006. The FedEx package sent to the DCCC on October 27, 2006 was addressed to Kevin Lewis, the Assistant to the DCCC's Chief Operating Officer, who was responsible for collecting candidate footage for the DCCC's media library. In contrast, the FedEx package sent on September 22, 2006 was addressed to Christina Raynolds, the DCCC's Research Director. Per the DCCC's internal firewall procedures, Raynolds would have been prohibited from having contact with the Independent Expenditure unit, so the footage used for the advertisement should not have been sent to her. Further, the label on the beta tapes that the DCCC provided to the Commission containing the Mitchell Committee's raw footage have a date stamp of 10/27/2006. Based on this information, it is reasonable to conclude that the footage was sent on October 27, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Three tapes were sent to the DCCC and portions of two of the three were used in "Compare." The first tape was entitled "Firefighters" and was 26 seconds long. Footage from this ad which primarily showed Mitchell from behind and was not used in "Compare." The second tape, entitled "Outdoors" contained 1 minute and 38 seconds of footage of Mitchell talking to people at a park. The third tape, entitled "Porch," was 46 seconds long and featured footage of Mitchell meeting with senior citizens. Portions of "Outdoor" and "Porch" were used in "Compare."

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- l establish whether that procedure was followed in creating the "Compare" advertisement. The
- 2 Commission obtained a copy of an "Audio Visual Media Library Request Form" requesting
- 3 Mitchell footage. However, the date stamp at the bottom of the form was 12/18/2006.
- 4 The DCCC may have issued a general request for video footage from the Mitchell
- 5 Committee for addition to the DCCC's video library in the ordinary course of business.
- 6 However, as indicated above, it appears that the video footage used in the advertisements at issue
- 7 here was not obtained in connection with any such general request. Although the Commission
- 8 obtained electronic copies of over 200 letters sent to members of Congress requesting video
- 9 footage and referencing "television advertising" as a possible use for such footage, it located no
- 10 copies of any written requests sent to the Mitchell Committee.

The information obtained during the Commission's investigation has revealed that the

12 video footage of Mitchell used in the "Compare" ad was not obtained from the video library

pursuant to the policies implemented for obtaining such footage. Rather, it appears it was

requested and obtained on October 28, 2006, the day after the Arizona Republic announced its

endorsement of Mitchell. The Mitchell Committee placed no restrictions on the use of the

footage when it sent copies to the DCCC.

#### III. ANALYSIS

18 The Mitchell Committee, which prepared the original video footage of the candidate,

19 does not receive or accept an in-kind contribution, and is not required to report an expenditure,

20 unless the dissemination, distribution, or republication of campaign materials is a coordinated

communication. 11 C.F.R. § 109.23(a). The "Compare" ad met the payment and content prongs

of the amended coordinated party communications regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 109.37 because the

DCCC acknowledged paying for the ad and it was a public communication that referred to a

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1 clearly identified federal candidate and was disseminated 90 days or fewer before the candidate's

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- 2 election.<sup>3</sup> The information gathered appears to demonstrate that communications took place
- 3 between the Mitchell Committee and the DCCC in connection with the footage used for the
- 4 "Compare" ad, but that such communication falls short of meeting the conduct prong of the
- 5 coordination regulation.

Information pertaining to the manner by which the DCCC obtained the Mitchell campaign footage for use in the creation of the "Compare" ad raises questions about whether the conduct prong of the coordination standard is met through the candidate's material involvement in the advertisement. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1) and (2). A communication meets the "material involvement" conduct standard if a candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee is materially involved in decisions regarding the (1) the content of a communication, (2) the intended audience for the communication, (3) the means or mode of the communication, (4) the specific media outlet used for the communication, (5) the timing or frequency of the communication, or (6) the size or prominence of a printed communication, or duration of a communication by means of broadcast, cable, or satellite. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(2). The "material involvement" standard "focuses ... on the nature of the information conveyed and its importance, degree of necessity, influence or the effect of involvement by the candidate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The D.C. Circuit's recent decision affirming the district court with respect to, *inter alia*, the content standard for public communications made before the time frames specified in the standard, and the rule for when former campaign employees and common vendors may share material information with other persons who finance public communications does not impact the analysis in this matter. *See Shape v. F.E.C.*, 528 F.3d 914, (D.C. Cir. 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> None of the conduct standards are met if a political committee has established and implemented a firewall that meets the requirements of 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h). However, the safe harbor does not apply if specific information indicates that, despite the firewall, information about the candidate's or political party committee's campaign plans, projects, activities, or needs that is material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication was used or conveyed to the person paying for the communication. 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(h).

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authorized committee, political party committee, or their agents in any of the communication

2 decisions." 68 Fed. Reg. at 433.

The information gathered shows that immediately after the October 27, 2006 Arizona Republic endorsement, the DCCC staff assigned to the Mitchell/Hayworth race concluded that the endorsement was "unprecedented" and they "urgently" sought to capitalize on it with an advertisement. Further, it appears that on the day the endorsement was published, footage date stamped 10/27/2006 was shipped "priority overnight" by Federal Express from the Mitchell Committee's media vendor to the DCCC. The Mitchell Committee footage delivered on October 28, 2006 comprised the only footage of Harry Mitchell used in the DCCC's "Compare" advertisement broadcast on October 31, 2006.

There is no evidence of coordination on the content of the communication itself (other than the acquisition of the footage). The discovery indicates that the three tapes were sent to the DCCC and that portions of two of the three were used in "Compare." The first tape was entitled "Firefighters" and was 26 seconds long. Footage from this ad which primarily showed Mitchell from behind and was not used in "Compare." The second tape, entitled "Outdoors" contained 1 minute and 38 seconds of footage of Mitchell talking to people at a park. The third tape, entitled "Porch," was 46 seconds long and featured footage of Mitchell meeting with senior citizens.

Portions of "Outdoor" and "Porch" were used in "Compare." While the volume of footage provided was certainly not extensive, the DCCC still had multiple choices from which to select. Further, although a portion of the footage chosen by the DCCC for inclusion in "Compare" was the same as that contained in one of the Mitchell Committee's own advertisements, there is no specific information to suggest that the Mitchell Committee was involved in the process by which the DCCC selected that footage for inclusion in "Compare." Finally, while it appears that

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at the very least the DCCC communicated an administrative request to the Mitchell Committee
for footage of the candidate, there is no specific information suggesting that any communications
relating to the request were substantive in nature or related to any "decision" regarding the
advertisement including content, intended audience, means or mode of the communication,
specific media outlet used, timing, frequency, or duration. To the contrary, as discussed earlier,
representatives from each of the respondent committees have denied that communication took

place between the DCCC's IE Unit and the Mitchell campaign.

The same facts that raise the issue of whether the material involvement conduct standard is met also gives rise to a discussion of whether the assent or suggestion conduct standard is met. 
11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1) (stating that the communication is created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of a candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee, or at the suggestion of a person paying for the communication, and the candidate, authorized committee, or political party committee assents to the suggestion). However, as the Commission explained in it Explanation and Justification for the coordination regulations, "[a] request or suggestion encompasses the most direct form of coordination, given that the candidate or political party committee communicates desires to another person who effectuates them."

Explanation and Justification, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 432 (Jan. 3, 2003). As discussed above in connection with the material involvement standard, there is no specific information that establishes that the communication regarding the advertisement was anything more than a generic request for footage. As a result, the "request or suggestion" conduct standard is not met here.

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- As a result, there does not appear to be information to establish coordination between the
- 2 DCCC and the Mitchell Committee in connection with the advertisement. Accordingly, there is
- 3 no reason to believe that the Mitchell Committee violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) or 434(b).